

We do not underestimate the political stakes: resentment against this belt-tightening played a key role in the defeat of President Chirac's coalition in the French national elections last June and in the one-day temporary fall of Prime Minister Prodi's government in Italy earlier this month. Several other EU member states have also seen anti-austerity demonstrations.

As a politician, I empathize with the challenge my European parliamentary colleagues face. But we all have to make difficult choices. For example, in my country after years of spirited debate we have finally agreed upon a plan to balance the Federal budget by the year 2002. In fact, by having taken extremely painful measures like reducing the civilian Federal workforce by more than a quarter-million individuals we may reach a balanced budget even earlier.

So however difficult it may be, if you—our European allies—want continued American involvement in your security, to use a baseball metaphor, your governments will have to “step up to the plate.” Let me be as frank as I possibly can: Americans simply must not be led to believe that our European allies will cut corners on NATO in order to fulfill their obligations to the European union.

Let me go one step further, if NATO is to remain a vibrant organization with the United States playing a lead role, when the alliance cost figures are issued in December, the non-U.S. members must join the United States in declaring their willingness to assume their fair share of direct enlargement costs.

This includes developing the power projection capabilities to which all alliance members agreed in the “strategic concept” in 1991, before enlargement was even being seriously discussed. The flexibility afforded by these power projection enhancements are central to NATO's ability to carry out its expanded, new mission—to defend our common ideals beyond our borders, while we continue to carry out the core function of defending the territory of alliance members.

Some of our European allies—the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, in particular—are making strides in improving the deployability and sustainability of their forces. But neither their forces, nor those of the rest of our European partners, are as yet fully deployable.

If our European partners were not to meet these force-projection obligations—and it was this part of the Pentagon study that occasioned the loudest criticism from across the Atlantic—the United States would continue to possess the only fully deployable and sustainable land and air forces in the alliance and would therefore be cast in the permanent role of “the good gendarme of Europe”—a role that neither the American people, nor the Senate of the United States, would accept.

I also would like to comment on the recent call by some West European defense ministers for counting economic assistance to Central and Eastern Europe as a substitute for meeting their countries' current alliance commitments and their future share of enlargement costs. Their proposal makes no sense and is totally counter-productive.

First of all, European statistics on economic assistance typically include healthy components of export credits, tied aid, and investment, making alleged comparisons with U.S. assistance one of “apples versus oranges.” Thus, the difference in the amount of economic aid from Western Europe and from the United States is less significant than some European politicians would have us believe.

Second, even if Western European economic assistance to the East since 1990 has exceeded our own, it would be unwise to con-

sider these contributions as a substitute for obligations related to NATO's military budget: it would only reinforce the “European businessman”/“American gendarme” syndrome. It would widen the military gap between the U.S. and the continent and, not unintentionally, give a comparative advantage to Western European companies in dealing with the East on the economic front. We in the United States simply won't play that game.

Third, and most importantly, such substitution arguments are ultimately self-defeating for Europe. As many of my Senate colleagues are eager to point out, if Western Europe claims security credit for its economic assistance to Eastern Europe, then the United States can justifiably claim credit for its worldwide containment of the threat of nuclear proliferation, for keeping international sea lanes open, and for guaranteeing continued access to Middle East oil.

To be blunt: I don't think you want us to play that game, because we can win it hands down.

The real point is that burden-sharing is not a book-keeping exercise. We would all do well to restrict the NATO burden-sharing discussion to just that—military burden-sharing in the alliance.

One other point related to comparative spending on defense: above and beyond enlargement and power-projection capability, unless you—our European allies—significantly upgrade your militaries, particularly in gathering and real-time processing of information, a “strategic disconnect” between a technologically superior United States military and outdated Western European militaries will eventually make it impossible for NATO to function effectively. From several personal conversations, I believe that this is a worry that many of you share.

There is a second dark cloud looming on the horizon of Trans-Atlantic relations. In the spring of 1998, just when the U.S. Senate is likely to be voting on amending the Treaty of Washington to accept new members, American SFOR ground forces are scheduled to be completing their withdrawal from Bosnia.

As it now stands, our European NATO allies will follow suit, in line with their “in together, out together” policy, despite a U.S. offer to make our air, naval, communications, and intelligence assets available to a European-led follow-on force, with an American rapid reaction force on standby alert “over the horizon” in Hungary or Italy.

My colleagues in the Senate have listened carefully as some European NATO members, led by France, call for more European leadership in the alliance and for a sturdier “European pillar” in NATO. But when they hear those same European voices say they will refuse to maintain troops in Bosnia without U.S. participation, it sounds like unfair burden-sharing and it only reinforces their doubts about NATO itself. After all, if Bosnia is the prototypical crisis the alliance will face in the next century, and internal squabbling prevents it from dealing effectively with Bosnia now, even staunch NATO supporters will be hard-pressed to defend its continued relevance.

France's position on Bosnia is particularly irritating when one considers its insistence on European command of Allied Forces Southern Europe (AFSOUTH) in Naples, the home of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. No matter how Paris tries to dress it up, this demand is perceived by U.S. Senators as a gratuitous poke in the eye. Not only is this idea a non-starter, it simply poisons the Trans-Atlantic atmosphere.

As many of you may know, I have been deeply involved in our policy toward Bosnia since 1991. My own personal view is that it

was unwise to have set a June 1998 date for SFOR's withdrawal and that the United States should agree to a scaled-down ground force in Bosnia beyond that date, with Europeans comprising the overwhelming majority of the ground forces. In short, a C.J.T.F. (combined joint task force), but one in which the United States has at least some forces present in all its components.

But whatever the final mix of post-SFOR forces, it is essential that we settle this issue this fall in order for an orderly redeployment to take place and to clear the air for the parliamentary debates on NATO enlargement. Time is running short.

Let me sum up by giving you my prognosis for ratification of NATO enlargement in the U.S. Senate. The debate has already begun and will continue to be lively. In the end, I believe it will be very difficult for most of my colleagues to vote against admitting the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians if the final accession negotiations reveal that they are qualified for membership.

But I also believe that unless the United States quickly comes to a satisfactory burden-sharing understanding with our European and Canadian allies, the future of NATO in the next century will be very much in doubt.

In that context, an advance European declaration of willingness to share fairly in the enlargement costs that NATO will announce in December, and a spirit of compromise on a post-SFOR force for Bosnia, would considerably enhance the chances for ratification of NATO enlargement by the U.S. Senate.

Together we can enlarge and strengthen NATO, but only if we fairly share the burden of meeting the challenges of the twenty-first century.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Thursday, November 6, 1997, the Federal debt stood at \$5,431,079,031,652.94 (Five trillion, four hundred thirty-one billion, seventy-nine million, thirty-one thousand, six hundred fifty-two dollars and ninety-four cents).

One year ago, November 6, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,245,748,000,000 (Five trillion, two hundred forty-five billion, seven hundred forty-eight million).

Five years ago, November 6, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$4,087,224,000,000 (Four trillion, eighty-seven billion, two hundred twenty-four million).

Ten years ago, November 6, 1987, the Federal debt stood at \$2,396,279,000,000 (Two trillion, three hundred ninety-six billion, two hundred seventy-nine million).

Twenty-five years ago, November 6, 1972, the Federal debt stood at \$435,570,000,000 (Four hundred thirty-five billion, five hundred seventy million) which reflects a debt increase of nearly \$5 trillion—\$4,995,509,031,652.94 (Four trillion, nine hundred ninety-five billion, five hundred nine million, thirty-one thousand, six hundred fifty-two dollars and ninety-four cents) during the past 25 years.

CONGRATULATIONS TO ANNA TAYLOR CELEBRATING HER 100TH BIRTHDAY

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I rise today to encourage my colleagues to join me in congratulating Anna Taylor of Grandview, MO, who will celebrate her 100th birthday on November 22. Anna is a truly remarkable individual. Anna has witnessed many of the events that have shaped our Nation into the greatest the world has ever known. The longevity of Anna's life has meant much more, however, to the many relatives and friends whose lives she has touched over the last 100 years.

Anna's celebration of 100 years of life is a testament to me and all Missourians. Her achievements are significant and deserve to be recognized. I would like to join Anna's many friends and relatives in wishing her health and happiness in the future.

COMMERCIALIZATION OF BIOTECHNOLOGIES

Mr. ABRAHAM. The Federal Government has spent millions of dollars during the past decade to support research laboratories, universities and the private sector to develop technologies to reduce the Nation's reliance on imported oil through the use of renewable energy sources, and to improve the efficiency and reduce the cost of cleaning up federally-owned sites which are contaminated with hazardous waste. This research is extremely valuable and is directed at addressing some of the most serious challenges facing our Nation. Unfortunately, these national research and development initiatives often do not provide maximum benefit to the Federal Government or to the private sector, since the technologies are not demonstrated to be effective on a commercial scale. It is my hope that as we continue to pursue these issues, the Federal Government can do more to help give the lessons learned from this research broader application.

A new program which recently has come to my attention—Acceleration Demonstration of Federally Sponsored Research for Renewable Energy Production and Environmental Remediation—seeks to remedy this problem. It seems to me that through a cooperative effort with the Department of Energy, its laboratories and other federally-sponsored research institutions, non-profit research and business development organizations could help commercialize existing federal research so that Americans could benefit more widely from these Federal initiatives.

Mr. BURNS. I agree with my colleague from Michigan. Commercialization of Federal research, particularly through non-profit organizations, could play a significant role in expanding the benefits from this research and get the most from our Federal research investments.

Mr. DASCHLE. The Senator is right. The Federal Government should do

more to help commercialize the results of federally-sponsored research. DOE should consider what steps it can undertake to better achieve this objective.

Mr. DOMENICI. The Department of Energy has a number of programs by which it might be able to team with non-Federal entities to commercialize technologies developed by the Department. I would encourage the Department of Energy to review the proposal mentioned by my colleagues and, to the extent appropriate within existing Department of Energy technology transfer programs, consider it for possible funding.

Mr. REID. That is correct. Funding is available under this bill for DOE in the Acceleration Demonstration of Federally Sponsored Research for Renewable Energy Production and Environmental Remediation programs account that can be awarded for commercialization of renewable fuels and environmental cleanup technologies on a competitive basis. I would urge DOE to seriously consider supporting this work in fiscal year 1998 up to the \$5 million level.

Mr. BURNS. That is my view as well.

THE VILLHAUERS OF HOSMER, SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I am looking forward to returning to South Dakota next week to join the citizens of my home state in honoring the men and women who have so faithfully served our nation in the armed forces. While all those who have given themselves to the call of duty will be on our minds on Tuesday, November 11, 1997, there is one family that will especially be on my mind.

The Villhauers of Hosmer, South Dakota hold a distinction that may well separate them from any other family in this nation. Mr. and Mrs. Fred Villhauer raised 7 sons in Hosmer, all of whom served this nation concurrently during World War II. Fred Jr., John, Henry, Albert, Arthur, Edmund and Herman Villhauer all answered the call of this country, and laid their lives on the line for the security and ideals of the United States.

Six of the brothers would survive the second world war and return to the United States. Albert, unfortunately, was killed during the retaking of the Philippine Islands on January 30, 1945. Fred Jr. returned to my hometown of Aberdeen where he lived until several years ago. The 5 other brothers are all alive today.

I should add that an 8th Villhauer brother, Paul, was too young to serve in World War II. But he joined the Army shortly after the war and eventually served during the Korean War. Paul Villhauer has also passed away.

Service to the United States seemed to run in the family for the Villhauers. The grandparents of the 8 brothers would have over 20 of their descendants serve in World War II, including 3 at Pearl Harbor. In all, more than 60

members of this family would join the armed forces of the United States of America. Six generations later, this segment of the Villhauer family boasts more than 1,000 descendants. This information was graciously provided by Emil Vilhauer, a former resident of South Dakota now residing in Wisconsin.

As Veterans' Day draws near, let us remember all who have served this nation, and especially those who were called to make the ultimate sacrifice to preserve our freedom. But this year in particular, I hope my colleagues and all the citizens of our great nation will join me in remembering one very special family that knows the true meaning of love of country: the family of Fred and Catherine Villhauer of Hosmer, South Dakota.

ENCRYPTION

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I wanted to take a moment to associate myself with the comments of the majority leader from October 21, 1997. Senator LOTT has correctly highlighted the FBI's constantly shifting arguments and the Bureau's seemingly relentless attempts to grab more power at the expense of the Constitution, particularly the fourth amendment's protection of privacy and the fifth amendment's guarantee of due process.

The FBI legislative proposal goes far beyond the Commerce Committee's misguided encryption legislation in further disregarding our Constitution. Instead of working with those who understand that S.909 gives the FBI unprecedented and troubling authority to invade lives, the FBI has attempted to grab even broader authority. The Senate would be foolish to pass S.909. In no way can we even consider the ill-advised FBI approach. The reach of the FBI has now extended so far that the President has taken the other side of the issue and supported a free market approach, according to his public comments delivered abroad.

I can only conclude that the FBI has introduced its proposal as a ploy to make S.909 look like a reasonable compromise. The only other explanation for the FBI's proposal is that the Bureau will not be satisfied with S.909, but instead will continue to work to erode our Constitutional protections. In fact, the new proposal only draws attention to the many problems of the commerce Committee language. Neither proposal is acceptable.

The issue of encryption must be revisited in a real and serious way next year, both at the committee level and in the Senate chamber, to examine the many Constitutional implications of the various proposals. I look forward to working with the Majority Leader and other Senators who have expressed interest in encryption legislation.

I yield the floor.

Mr. ABRAHAM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized.